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New South
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SRC Annual Meeting Lays Plans For Local Action in 1949

LOCAL action in the light of a major plan for the whole South will be the main objective of the Council's 1949 program, adopted at the fifth Annual Meeting in Atlanta on November 10.

The meeting, which attracted members from eleven Southern States, was one of the most harmonious and enthusiastic in SRC history.

President Paul D. Williams opened the one-day session with an address on the role of the Council in a changing South. While much attention is being focused on the natural resources of the region, said Mr. Williams, the development of human resources is neglected. "It is important that the Southern Regional Council and all of its State Divisions and Committees think in terms of the problems involved in human relations, whether or not they fall in the areas of race or class."

Southern Transition

Mr. Williams described the civil rights controversy as one phase of a transition in the South to a broader democracy. "However unwillingly," he said, "the South is beginning to look at its undemocratic practices in the light of world and national opinion."

The meeting also heard Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason of Norfolk, Va., give an account of the Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights, sponsored by the Council and other organizations last February. Mr. George Stephens of Asheville, N. C., discussed the importance of the statement on civil rights issued in September by the Executive Committee and printed in the September *New South*. Following Mr. Stephens' remarks, the members unanimously adopted the statement as SRC's official policy on civil rights.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director, outlined a proposed program for the organization in 1949, which was later adopted by the meeting. The program calls for an over-all plan which will "reduce the broad thing that is called the 'Southern problem' to proportions that can be locally understood and managed."

Sub-regional Plan

Dr. Mitchell pointed out that the South is not "all of a piece" but varies widely within itself in land, in living standards, in attitudes, and in political democracy. He declared that during 1949 the Council hopes to present "the things to be done, section by section of the South," to provide basic equality in economic opportunity, and in health, housing, education, and public services.

Dr. Mitchell introduced to the membership Mr. Charles M. Smith of Arlington, Va., who is assembling for SRC the essential facts about the South's "sub-regions" which will provide the basis for the Council's program.

The program at the local level will consist in stimulating in the South community self-surveys. The Council has produced a mimeographed edition of a manual entitled *The Home Town Self-Survey* which will serve as a guide to local groups in getting improvements in their communities. In addition, SRC will offer technical assistance to any local group agreeing to pay the travel expenses of an adviser.

Also stressed in plans for the coming

year was the need for a speeding-up of equalization of school facilities for whites and Negroes. Rapid strides in education can come, said Dr. Mitchell, "at the price of collecting the facts, town by town, and pressing immediately in constructive common citizenship to make our schools equal for all."

In open discussion of the 1949 program, the members agreed that the Council should increase its efforts to translate its inquiry and planning into action, and that every attempt should be made to make its program meaningful to the plain people of the South.

Among the publications approved for 1949 are:

(1) A manual for newspapermen on the handling of race in the news, now in preparation by Mr. Calvin Kytle of the Department of Journalism, Emory University;

(2) A revised and expanded version of *The Economic Value of the Negro to the South,* by Dr. W. Harding Hughes of Talladega College;

(3) A pamphlet on needed revisions of state laws governing farm tenancy in the South, by Professor Benjamin Bullock of Atlanta University;

(4) A pamphlet on the function of legislation in improving social conditions;

(5) A constructive treatment of the problem of fair employment practices, exploring the various ways, legal and private, of insuring fairness in job opportunities.

Advisory Committee

Mr. R. E. Cureton, head of the social science department of Booker Washington High School, Atlanta, spoke briefly on the function of the Council's Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee meets weekly with the executive director and other appropriate members of the staff. Other members, in addition to Mr. Cureton, are Mr. Nelson Jackson, Executive Secretary, National Urban League, S. E. Region, and Dr. Samuel E. Nabrit, Dean of the Graduate School of Atlanta University.

In his address to the members, Dr. Mitchell pointed out that more of the money for the work of the Council "should and can be raised in the South," and urged that the membership take the responsibility for finding and sending in "substantially larger sums than have been found in the past." Following a report by Mr. J. M. Tydings, chairman of the Finance Committee, the meeting voted that every member be requested to raise at least ten dollars, in addition to his dues, for the support of the organization.

The Board of Directors, at its meeting the following day, also devoted much of its discussion to ways and means of financing the work of the Council, with increasing support from the South. The Board also appointed 45 additional Fellows of the Council from points throughout the South.

All officers were re-elected, with the exception of Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., of Norfolk, Va., whose resignation as vice-president was accepted with regret. Mr. John H. Wheeler, vice-president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C., was elected to fill the position, and Mr. Young was elected a member of the Board of Directors.

Board Members

Changes were made in the membership of the Board to replace the following retiring members: Mr. Charles Clingman, Dr. H. D. Goode, Mr. Z. A. Looby, Dr. R. L. Russell, Mr. Thomas S. Staples, Mrs. A. M. P. Strong, Dr. J. G. Stuart, Rabbi Stanley Brav, Dr. Ira Reid, and Mr. Ernest Delpit.

Newly elected board members who have accepted the position thus far are: Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president of Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta; Mr. E. P. Palmer, president of the Kingsport Press, Kingsport, Tenn.; Dr. Arthur Raper, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture. Others will be announced as notification of their acceptance is received.

Elected ex-officio members of the Board were the following heads of state groups affiliated or closely associated with the Council: Dr. R. L. Russell, director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation; Mrs. James S. Crate, of Houston, Tex., chairman of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation; Mr. John M. Ellison, of Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va., chairman of the Department of Interracial Cooperation, Virginia Council of Churches; and the Rev. Leon Russell of Goldsboro, N. C., chairman of the N. C. Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

Southern Farmers Move Ahead In Land Ownership

By George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

THE last fifteen years in Southern agriculture have seen the play of forces of change more powerful than any that have been at work for several generations. Many who are concerned with the economic and governmental health of the Southern States have watched closely the figures on farm ownership and farm tenancy. On the whole, the period from 1930 to 1945 is encouraging in this respect — more so, however, for the white farmers of the South than for the Negroes.

In 1945 the thirteen Southern States had a little short of 2,100,000 white farm operators and about 660,000 Negro farm operators. Of the white farmers, a little better than 1,396,000 were owners or part owners, and of the Negro farmers, 186,000 were owners or part owners. Thus in 1945 roughly three-fourths of the farm operators of the South were white and one-fourth were Negro. White owners were 63% of all white farmers and Negro owners were 28% of all Negro farmers.

Here are some interesting changes in the fifteen-year-period:

White farmers of all kinds declined 5.4%

Negro farmers of all kinds declined 24.6%

White farm owners increased 23.1%

Negro farm owners increased 4.2%

White tenants, including croppers, decreased 37.5%

Negro tenants, including croppers, decreased 32%

White croppers declined 54.1%

Negro croppers declined 31.2%

The growth in farm owners in the South was remarkably greater than in the rest of the country. In the non-southern states white farm owners increased only 5.7%, as against 23.1% in the South, and Negro farm owners outside the South declined 17.5%, as against the Southern increase of 4.2%.

Conversely, white tenants dropped less in the non-southern states than in the South. The figures were: non-South, decline of 20.2%; South, decline of 37.5%. Negro tenants dropped a little more outside the South than within the South — 36% outside and 32% within.

Increase in White Owners

The state figures show interesting contrasts. For increases in white owners (including part owners), the following is the ranking of the States:

Georgia	32.4
Oklahoma	32.3
South Carolina	28.1
Mississippi	27.7
Alabama	27.5
Texas	26.9
Arkansas	26.5
Florida	25.9
Louisiana	25.1
Tennessee	20.7
North Carolina	18.7
Virginia	17.4
Kentucky	11.7
United States	11.6
South	23.1
Non-South	5.7

On increases in Negro owners (including part owners), the ranking of the States is quite different:

Florida	16.0
Alabama	15.4
Louisiana	12.6
South Carolina	12.3
Mississippi	11.9

This is a shortened version of a paper read to the 1948 meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges in Washington, D. C., October 21. The figures are from the U. S. Census, as tabulated for SRC by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Georgia	11.5
Texas	6.7
North Carolina	0.7
Arkansas	0.1
Virginia	— 5.5
Tennessee	— 5.8
Oklahoma	—21.5
Kentucky	—26.2
United States	1.6
South	4.2
Non-South	—17.5

Very roughly, it could be said from these figures that in the States of the lower South, both whites and Negroes made remarkable gains in numbers of farm owners, while in the border States and in the upper South, white increases in owners were smaller than in the lower South, and Negro owners grew only slightly or actually decreased. Incidentally, in most of the States of the lower South, white owners grew more than twice as much as Negro owners.

Farm Tenants

My figures for tenancy include sharecroppers. It is interesting to note that the number of farm tenants declined in every single Southern State during the fifteen-year period. Texas and Oklahoma showed the greatest decline for both races. Texas lost within sneezing distance of half its white tenants and over 63% of its Negro tenants. Oklahoma reduced white tenants 45% and Negro tenants 68%. Florida, Arkansas, and Mississippi reduced white tenants very greatly. North Carolina had the smallest reduction in white tenants, 15.3%, and also the smallest reduction in Negro tenants, 4.8%. Other States which reduced their numbers of tenants heavily were: Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Alabama.

Here are the detailed figures on percentage changes in number of farm tenants of all kinds (including sharecroppers), for the period 1930-1945:

White

Texas	—48.8
Oklahoma	—44.8
Florida	—44.0
Arkansas	—42.3
Louisiana	—40.8
Mississippi	—39.9
Georgia	—35.7
Tennessee	—33.7
Alabama	—31.3
South Carolina	—30.3
Virginia	—28.8
Kentucky	—27.0
North Carolina	—15.3
United States	—29.6
South	—37.5
Non-South	—20.2

Non-White

Oklahoma	—68.1
Texas	—63.5
Arkansas	—41.6
Kentucky	—41.5
Louisiana	—41.0
Alabama	—37.3
Florida	—27.1
Mississippi	—27.0
Tennessee	—26.2
Georgia	—23.3
Virginia	—22.1
South Carolina	—16.6
North Carolina	— 4.8
United States	—32.0
South	—32.0
Non-South	—36.0

On sharecropping specifically the reductions, as we all know, were very great. White sharecropping came near to extinction in Oklahoma, with a decline of 87.4%. In Texas the loss was 78.7%. Florida dropped 72% of its white sharecroppers, and Louisiana 64.5%. The smallest loss was North Carolina, 16.7%.

In Negro sharecropping the greatest reductions were again in the Southwest. Oklahoma lost 92.2%. In Texas it was 72.8%. In no other Southern States was Negro sharecropping reduced by anything approaching these figures. The next highest loss was Arkansas, 44%, followed by Alabama, 42.2%, and Louisiana, 40.7%. The eastern seaboard States had more moderate reductions in Negro sharecropping. Virginia lost 17.3%, South Carolina 11.8%, and North Carolina only 2%.

Hired Farm Laborers

Of course in all these changes the figures on hired farm laborers are of importance. Unfortunately, they are not available on a race breakdown; I have only got them by census regions (which differ from the grouping used heretofore) and the changes are for a different period. Hired farm laborers for the United States as a whole decreased 17.5% between 1940 and 1945, and in the South, decreased 20.8%. Their number was increasing moderately

in the two-year period 1945-1947 — a little more for the country as a whole than for the South.

Let us sum up some of these figures:

For our fifteen-year period white farm owners in the South grew remarkably, 23.1%, while Negro owners only crept ahead, 4.2%. White tenants of all kinds decreased more than Negro tenants. Well over half the white croppers left that category. With the Negroes, it was well under a third. For all farm operators, the South lost in our period only 5.4% of its white operators, and almost a fourth of its Negro operators (24.6%).

A far heavier percentage of Southern Negro farmers left agriculture in the fifteen-year period than white farmers. Far fewer Negro farmers, in proportion to their numbers, climbed into ownership than white farmers. Tenancy and sharecropping declined less among Negroes than among whites. Generally speaking, the border States yield figures less encouraging to Negro agriculture, and the States of the lower South show the best gains in Negro farm ownership.

As between Negro and white owners, the percentages of increase for the two periods 1930-40 and 1940-45 show some interesting contrasts. White owners grew 11.3% during 1930-40 and nearly as much again, 10.7%, in the five war years, 1940-45. Negro owners declined 4.5% in the depression-New Deal Era, but gained 9.1% in the war years. The only three States which did not show losses in Negro owners in the depression-New Deal period were Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. By contrast, the only State which did not gain Negro owners in the war period was Kentucky, where the loss was slight, 2.7%.

Increase in Owners

From all these figures I draw the conclusion that in the recent period of agricultural prosperity the South has made a satisfying — not to say remarkable — increase in numbers of farm owners. The increase has been quite unevenly distributed by race. While Negro owners have grown, they have grown only in the years of peak prosperity, and even then not as rapidly as white owners.

I confess to a preference for the pattern of the family farm. My own travels about the South convince me that almost every factor pertaining to government and culture is on a better level in areas in which a high percentage of farms are worked by owners or by tenants whose landlords own only one, two, or three farms. As a matter of theory, it should prove to be true that race relations are better in those rural areas in which Negro and white farmers have holdings and tenure that are similar in size and kind. Doubtless many of you could cite communities which by relationships good or bad would back up this point of sociological theory. In the changes of the next period, I am hopeful that the South will apply a conscious pressure to broaden the pattern of equalitarian land ownership.

Effects of Mechanization

It is probable that in a few years' time the census figures will show a definite trend in land tenure in the South as a result of increasing mechanization. If the conscious pressure spoken of is to be applied, it must be applied in the field of mechanization.

A few public devices can be pointed to which would help to strengthen the pattern of family farm ownership in the South in the coming years. Among these would be:

(1) Further appropriations for the kind of work done by the old Farm Security Administration and the present Farmers Home Administration.

(2) A public rural housing program.

(3) The manufacturers of certain items of heavy farm equipment could conceivably take private measures to get their machinery into the hands of associations of family farmers, in preference to selling them to large operators who would themselves, by reason of their ownership of great acreages, reap the major benefit from mechanization. American business has many precedents for the licensing in lieu of outright sale of mechanical equipment. It may be too much to hope that cotton pickers will be licensed preferentially to groups of family farmers, but there is no harm in hoping!

(4) The Agricultural Experiment Stations could step up their work on the problems of mechanizing the family farm.

(5) We need a system of good, access-

(*Continued on page 8*)

Notes and Comments

That part of SRC's 1949 program which calls for stimulating community self-surveys throughout the South requires all the interest and energy that individual members of the Council can give. The Atlanta Office has prepared a manual, *The Home Town Self-Survey,* now in mimeographed form and later to be available in a printed edition. The Council will also offer advisory help to local groups at the cost of the travelling expenses of the consultant. But arousing interest in a self-survey, and organizing local groups which will take advantage of the Council's services, is a job that can only be done by the members.

The results of the self-survey in Jacksonville and other Southern cities show the promise of this approach to local problems, not only in the field of material well-being but also in human relations. It is the Council's hope that all its members will help make this promise pay off in progress for the South.

While the use of the self-survey method is to be encouraged in the larger cities, the manual is designed primarily for use in small communities. The Council will concentrate most of its energy on these small towns which lack the many service agencies found in big urban centers.

"Mary Smith Meets Mr. People" is the title of an excellent play for classroom use, prepared by the Southern Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The play presents a basic message — the need for tolerance and understanding among racial and religious groups — in a simple, entertaining form. The children themselves are the actors, and the play can be performed as easily in front of a classroom as on a stage. Encouragingly enough, ADL reports that there have already been more than 3,000 requests for copies of the play.

SRC members can render useful service by calling the play to the attention of their local schools, churches, and other agencies which work with children. Copies may be obtained from the Council or from the Anti-Defamation League, 11 Pryor St., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Mr. Charles M. Smith, of Arlington, Va., is now serving as assistant director of the Council. His office will be at 1833 Jefferson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. Mr. Smith, a graduate of Tulane University, has had wide experience in governmental and voluntary programs in the South.

Shortly before his recent death, Dr. Edwin L. Clarke completed a long-standing arrangement with the Council to print "Hymn to Brotherhood," which he had prepared with the assistance of Miss Camille Nickerson. In an effort to get the hymn widely known, we have added it as a supplement to this month's *New South.* The Council will be happy to supply extra copies to persons or groups wishing them.

The music was written by Miss Camille Nickerson, a native of New Orleans, La., and a graduate of the Conservatory of Music at Oberlin, Ohio. She is noted for her study of folk music, having published a number of arrangements of folk songs. At present, she is associate professor of music at Howard University.

The words were written by Dr. Clarke, who was a professor of sociology at Rollins College from 1930 until his death. "Hymn to Brotherhood" appears opportunely as a memorial to Dr. Clarke's own lifetime of work on behalf of brotherly understanding in the South.

New South is rarely happy to find itself in error, but we must confess to a certain cheerfulness over three letters of correction that the September issue brought in. All three of these valued readers are chiefs of police, and their corrections deal with the number of Negro policemen employed on their respective forces.

The Police Chief of Newport News, Va., writes: "Please be advised that we employ 6 Negro policemen in this city instead of 5, as stated on page 7 of this issue."

The Police Chief of Savannah, Ga., points out with justifiable emphasis, "We have 12 colored police officers in Savannah at this time." *New South* credited Savannah with only nine.)

From the Chief in Louisville, Ky., comes the heartening word that that city has increased its total of uniformed Negro officers from 15 to 27.

SRC has in stock a number of pamphlets which present the facts about the Southern scene simply and clearly. These publications are serving usefully in a number of ways — in college courses, study and discussion groups, and as ready sources of information for all persons interested in Southern problems and progress. Our aim is to extend their use as widely as possible. Accordingly, the Council calls on all its members and friends to help get our publications into the hands of the people who should read them.

Following are a few of the titles available:

Wanted: An Educated South. Southern children need better education which reaches more of them. This pamphlet shows what is lacking and gives ideas for spreading basic learning to all Southern people. 22 pp., illustrated. 20¢.

Wanted: A Healthy South. The causes of the South's poor health conditions and the ways that lead to cure. By Dorothy Dickins. 30 pp., illustrated. 20¢.

'By the People'. A summary of the results of the Jacksonville, Fla., self-survey. As the self-survey idea spreads to civic-minded citizens in other communities, this pamphlet is being widely used for study and discussion. 33 pp., illustrated. 20¢.

Housing in the South. A graphic description of the condition of the roofs over our heads. By Helen Bridgman. 18 pp., illustrated. 20¢.

Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940. Based on a first-hand study of voting practices in the South, this pamphlet traces State by State the increase in Negro voting, its meaning for the Negro and for the South. By Dr. Luther P. Jackson. 26 pp., 2 charts. 25¢.

Abuse of 'States' Rights' Condemned by CCS Unit

The New Orleans unit of the Catholic Committee of the South issued an official statement recently which deals firmly and honestly with the question of states' rights versus human rights.

Calling attention to "an increasing incitement to factional strife and group hatred," the statement calls on all citizens of good will "to examine critically the motives and statements of spokesmen whose aim is to incite ill will toward any particular group of the human family."

" 'States Rights' cannot be invoked to suppress inalienable rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States . . . The term 'Southern Tradition' is misused and dishonored when it is employed to justify a continued state of unjust discrimination against the Negro laborer and privation of the Negro of the opportunity for higher education and professional training."

The New Orleans members of the CCS affirmed their belief that "the delicate problems involved in these issues should be met on the local community or state levels." But, they add, "opposition to regulation by federal enactment seems hypocritical and lacking solid moral foundation when states and communities have failed to right wrongs and to bring sectional law, tradition, and life into harmony with constitutional statutes and the over-all American way of life and tradition."

Attention of all members is called to the increase in SRC dues voted by the membership meeting, November 10. It was voted unanimously that individual memberships, previously $2.00 per year, be raised to $3.00, and joint memberships from $3.00 to $4.00. As before, one-half the dues will be returned to State Divisions.

Similarly, an increase—from $1.00 to $1.50 — was voted for annual subscriptions to *New South*.

Southern Farmers

(*Continued from page 5*)

ible area trade schools reaching into the rural South. In its growing industrial life the South is still most lamely supplied with technical educational facilities at the secondary level. We are clearly on the verge of making a transition with our agriculture to a situation in which the requirements of technical skill will be very great. We might well put a larger percentage of educational money than we do into providing future farm operators with a basic knowledge of metals, electricity, woodworking, measurement, motive power, and so on.

Land Tenure Laws

(6) Our state laws on land tenure need rewriting. Generally speaking, the Southern States passed their basic statutes on the tenure of farm land in the period just after the Civil War. That was a time when the people who worked the land were mostly illiterate, and when a land owner was conferring a boon on society if he put his land and the people nearby to work. The laws protected the landlord's lien and, naturally, recognized the oral lease. In the eighty years since the laws were shaped, we have moved on into a situation in which nearly everybody on the land has had some schooling and could understand a written lease.

We have also learned, to our sorrow, that our system of annual oral leases, with no provision for compensation for improvements, has contributed heavily to the despoiling of our farm resources. In every State, farm experts know of communities in which landlords have voluntarily moved over to a system of written leases, with compensation clauses and some protection in writing of the tenant's security on the land. In an era of emphasis on States' rights and States' responsibilities and of lessened enthusiasm for gettings things done with direct federal appropriations, we have in our state land leasing laws an almost untapped resource for improvement. Most of the countries of western Europe have long since provided tenants on farm land with legal protection far in excess of what is available to the rank and file of croppers and tenants in the Southern States of America.

Nearly everyone in this audience has been told in detail case after case in which somebody "traded" by word of mouth for a piece of farm land for a year and then started in good hopes, and found himself as the months went by in more frequent and deeper disagreement with his landlord. If such a tenant pulls out and sues for something, his chances for justice are admixed with the whole Southern political and social scene. He comes into court with his word alone for his agreement with the landlord.

Written leases conforming to legislatively determined standards would do a great deal to protect the agricultural ladder. I believe that, if required, they would in a short time come to be recognized as a protection also to the landlord in getting husbandlike practices on his land.

It would be easy to appeal to sentiment in trying to contrive or hold a larger place in Southern agriculture for Negro farmers. It seems to me the thing to aim at is not the retention of any particular set of people in Southern farming, but rather the provision of a situation in which any Southern farmer who shows ingenuity and ability can rise to a satisfying level of living. With the terms thus equal, I have no doubt that a generous proportion of Negroes on the land in the Southern States would find a way to build prosperity for their families.

NEW SOUTH

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, NOVEMBER, 1948

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region

BROTHERHOOD

Words by Edwin L. Clarke

Music by Camille L. Nickerson

Tempo:—♩. = 112. Rhythm well marked.

mf
cresc.
f
mp
Rhythm well marked.
Re - joice and sing, while dark clouds break Be - fore the new - day sun, We
joice! nor class nor creed nor race Di-vides our loy - al band, For
take our stand for all men's sake To live and work as one! What
now, what-e'er our work or place, With stead-fast heart and hand, We
p
mat - ter dif - f'rent hues by birth? Our hearts and minds u - nite To
strive for jus - tice, peace and laws That serve the com - mon good, And

mp
cresc.
mf ritardando
make this dark and blood - y earth One world of joy and light!
make the glo - ry of our cause Its gen - 'rous broth - er -
mp
cresc.
mf ritardando
|| Second time ||
a tempo
Moth - er - land of prom - ise, born to make men free,
hood. Oh, Sons of man - y na - tions, far be-yond the sea.
We will make thy prom - ise Glad re - al - i - ty.
We would live like breth - 'ren of one fam - i - ly.
mf [Second time, slacken speed for emphasis]
Shoul - der close to shoul - der, with one pur - pose
Till our chil - dren's chil - dren, freed from greed and
mf

1st ending
Well marked
ritardando
fflled, Lay - ing firm foun -da - tion, Sing - ing, now we build.
ritardando
8va
Del Segno
a tempo
Re -
f
ff
ff
2nd ending
f cresc. - e - ritardando - ff - - - - - -
hate, Hold the prize we strive for, God's fra - ter - nal state.
f
8va
f cresc. - e - ritardrndo - ff - - - -

Hymn to Brotherhood

Words by Edwin L. Clarke

Music by Camille L. Nickerson

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